

Message Text

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70

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 EUR-25 NEA-14 RSC-01

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PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSC-07 PA-04 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 OIC-04 AID-20 EB-11 CIEP-02 TRSE-00 STR-08

OMB-01 CEA-02 COME-00 FRB-02 XMB-07 OPIC-12 LAB-06

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2191

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UNGA EGEN

SUBJ: FOLLOW-ON TO SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

REF: STATE 129522

SUMMARY: IN EFFORT TO CHANNEL MOUNTING UN FOCUS ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCE ISSUES, USUN RECOMMENDS USG ABANDON IT LOW PROFILE, DAMAGE-LIMITATION ROLE IN BROAD RANGE UN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. THIS WILL REQUIRE CAREFULLY COORDINATED WASHINGTON-DIRECTED STRATEGY, UTILIZING BILATERAL CHANNELS TO ASSIST ACHIEVEMENT OF GOALS. FAILURE TO MOVE MORE POSITIVELY AND TIMELY WITHIN UN CONTEXT, FOLLOWING UP UNSUCCESSFUL SPECIAL SESSION OF GA, WILL BACKFIRE BY LEAVING FIELD WIDE OPEN TO LDC'S AND EASTERN BLOC TO ADOPT DECISIONS AND RESOLUTIONS DIRECTLY OPPOSED TO OUR LONG-TERM GOALS. PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS WOULD TEND TO REVERSE BELATED POSITIVE THRUST OF SECRETARY'S FOUR MILLION DOLLAR PACKAGE PROPOSAL AT SPECIAL GA SESSION. THIS MORE ACTIVE ROLE WHICH I RECOMMEND TO PRESERVE AMERICAN INITIATIVES MUST BE COORDINATED WITH
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FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING SOME NON-ALIGNED, BEFORE

IMPORTANT VOTES TAKEN IN COMMITTEE OF 36 AND 57TH SESSION OF ECOSOC, WHICH OPENS IN GENEVA JULY 1, END SUMMARY.

1. AS "COMMITTEE OF 36" AND 57TH ECOSOC ACTIVITY INTENSIFY AND RESPONSES TO REFTEL CONTINUE TO COME IN, USUN WOULD LIKE TO OFFER GENERAL OBSERVATIONS THAT MAY BE RELEVANT TO US ATTITUDES AND SPECIFIC DECISIONS TO BE MADE IN WAKE OF SPECIAL SESSION.
2. OUR GENERAL RECOMMENDATION IS THAT US, WITH ITS ADVANTAGE IN POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC INFLUENCE AND ITS UNEQUALLED ECONOMIC STRENGTH, SHOULD PROVIDE LEADERSHIP BOTH BEFORE AND DURING THE SESSIONS OF UN ORGANIZATIONS THAT WILL CARRY FORWARD THE WORK OF SPECIAL SESSION. ALLIES AND LDC'S ARE LOOKING FOR THIS. IF RELUCTANT LOW-PROFILE USG APPROACH CONTINUES, IT LEAVES VACUUM WHICH CAN ONLY BE FILLED BY MISCHIEF MAKERS AND DOCTRINE PEDDLERS OPPOSED TO CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE. TO DO SO WILL REQUIRE MORE THAN A SIMPLE DECISION THAT SUCH LEADERSHIP IS DESIREABLE. BEFORE AND DURING SPECIAL SESSION OF GA USG DID NOT PROVIDE SUCH LEADERSHIP. WE BELIEVE THAT BECAUSE OUR FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL INTEREST ARE INCREASINGLY INVOLVED, WE MUST NOW BE GUIDED BY TIMELY, COMPREHENSIVE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WHAT HAPPENS WITHIN UN IMPACTS US ECONOMICS-POLITICAL POLICIES WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT.
3. AT AN EARLY STAGE WE SHOULD COORDINATE OUR POSITION WITH WEO GROUP. WESTERN EUROPEANS, NORTH AMERICANS (INCLUDING US), JAPANESE, AUSTRALIANS AND SO FORTH ARE NO LONGER UNIQUE IN THEIR POSSESSION OF CAPITAL RESOURCES THAT CAN PROVIDE ECONOMIC LEVERAGE. THEY CONTINUE, HOWEVER, TO BE INFLUENTIAL IN DISPROPORTION TO THEIR NUMBERS. DESPITE DIFFERENCES AMONG THEM, THE GROUP SHARES MANY FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS THAT CONSTITUTE BASIS FOR COHERENT GROUP ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS ON MAY ISSUES.
4. COORDINATION AND CONSULTATION WITH INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY IMPLY THAT KEY G-77 AND NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS ARE TO BE IGNORED. IN FACT, THE LDC "STEAMROLLER" MAY MOST EFFECTIVELY BE TURNED AROUND BY INSISTENT USG EFFORTS TO CONSULT WITH LEADING LDC DELEGATIONS SUCH AS THOSE OF ALGERIA, YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA,

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PAKISTAN, ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL. ON AT LEAST SOME ISSUES, USG INTEREST AND OBJECTIVES COINCIDE MORE CLOSELY WITH THOSE OF LDC'S THAN THOSE OF WEO'S GROUP. CURRENT ISSUES WHERE THIS IS CASE ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, LINER CONFERENCE (FREIGHT) ISSUE AND CERTAIN AGRICULTURAL POLICIES. FURTHERMORE, SINCE THERE IS NO "INSTITUTIONALIZED" METHOD FOR USG G-77 CONSULTATIONS, SUCH AS EXISTS FOR WEO GROUP IN OECD, EVEN GREATER CARE MAY BE REQUIRED IN REGULATING FREQUENCY

AND CONTENT OF USG CONSULTATIONS WITH THEM.

5. MISSION SHARES AMB CRONK'S VIEWS (SINGAPORE 2394) RE NEED FOR TIMELY, HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION WITHIN USG ON ISSUES DC/LDC ECONOMIC RELATIONS. UNLESS THE MANY OUTSTANDING ISSUES OF SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION, WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO BE DISCUSSED IN FOLLOW UP PHASE IN SUCH ORGANS AS ECOSOC, TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD, AND IN SUBSEQUENT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES, RECEIVE SUCH HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION, USG WOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION TO PARTICIPATE EFFECTVELY IN, LET ALONE INITIATE, CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

6. WE MUST IN THIS CONTEXT KEEP IN MIND THAT OUR BILATERAL DIPLOMACY AND OUR DIPLOMACY IN MULTILATERAL CHANNELS ARE COMPLEMENTARY. OUR ECONOMIC ABILITIES OUTSIDE MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORKD ARE CLEARLY RELEVANT. CASES IN POINT ARE OUR CURRENT INITIATIVES TO VITALIZE RELATIONSHIPS WITH ARAB STATES IN THE ME AND WITH COUNTRIES IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE. MISSION BELEVES THAT WE SHOULD WITH GREATER CARE USE BILATERAL CHANNELS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES WITH VIEW TO BEING BETTER PREPARED FOR SUBSEQUENT ACTION IN MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AND FORUMS.

7. FOR MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT FIRMNESS AND RIGIDITY ARE NOT SYNONYMOUS. THERE ARE OBVIOUSLY SOME POLICY POSITIONS IN WHICH OUR INTEREST AND OUR VIEW OF ISSUES WILL REQUIRE US TO STAND FIRM IN FACE OF GENERAL OPPOSITION. FIRMNESS AS COHERENT EXPRESSION ON NATIONAL INTEREST IS UNDERSTANDABLE TO OTHERS EVEN IF THEY DISAGREE.

8. MISSION THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT US FIND ITSELF TO EXERT STRONGER LEADERSHIP NOW AND THROUGHOUT FOLLOW UP PHASE, I.E., THROUGHT 30TH GA. AREAS WHICH REQUIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION, IN VIEW OF IMMINENT 57TH ECOSOC SESSION, ARE:

A) MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT.
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SPECIFICALLY WE WILL NEED A STRONG POSITION ON REPORT OF GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS (E/5500/ADD.1PART I) WHICH CAN BE STATED BY AMB SCALI IN ECOSOC GENERAL DEBATE JULY 4. PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE FOCUSED ON GROUP'S RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ECOSOC COMMISSION AND INFORMATION CENTER. WE MUST BE EQUALLY PREPARED FOR BROADSIDES FROM SOME LDC'S AND EE'S REGARDING "BIAS" OF REPORT AND "NEFARIOUS" NATURE OF MNC'S .

?) PREPARATION FOR 1975 SEPCIAL SESION. IDEAS ON ORGANIZING UN FAMILY TO BETTER MEET DEMANDS AND REQUIREMENTS OF "THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER" WILL BE THEME OF JULY 1-2 ACC/CPC SESSION. AMB SCALI STATEMENT AT THAT JOINT MEETING SHOULD HELP SET TONE FOR SUBSEQUENT US PARTICPATION IN DIALOGUE AND DECISION -MAKING PROCESS WHICH WILL CULMINATE IN 1975 GA SPECIAL

SESSION.

C) PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES.

THIS PERENNIAL THEME, EVEN NOW BEING DISCUSSED IN MEXICO CITY, WILL HAUNT US AGAIN AT GENEVA ECOSOC MEETING AND SUBSEQUENTLY AT 29TH GA. THIS ISSUE TOGETHER WITH ITS COMPANION, NATIONALIZATION, MIGHT WELL BE ROPE FOR DETERMINED EFFORTS WIN ADHERENTS THROUGH ADVANCE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS AND DEMARCHES.

D) PARTICIPATION OF STATES NOT MEMBERS OF UN AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN UN OR UN-SPONSORED FORUMS.

9. I RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS BE REVIEWED IN LIGHT OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS. PERSPECTIVE OF PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS SEEM TO ME FAR TOO NARROWLY FOCUSED AND INCONSISTENT WITH WHAT I UNDERSTAND FROM MY DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY ARE HIS DESIRES FOR LONG-RANGE POSITIVE STANCE, INCLUDING A REVIVAL OF POSITIONS SECRETARY TOOK IN HIS ADDRESS TO SPECIAL GA. IF MEANWHILE CONSIDERED GOAL IS TO SCUTTLE COMMITTEE OF 36 AND SPECIAL FUND, A MORE FORWARD APPEARING STRATEGY CAN BE DEVISED WHICH INCLUDES SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS AND WHICH DOES NOT LEAVE US WIDE OPEN TO CHARGES OF NEGATIVISM AND ACTING DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY WE TALK. PURSUING PRESENT STRATEGY WILL CONFIRM SUSPICIONS OF EVEN OUR CLOSEST ALLIES, LEAVING US ISOLATED FROM ALL.

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